592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
17/ man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/199 cont./

754 [562] [683] [434] [177] that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing, the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue, and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains, where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies within a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynasties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area. [123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had no results. The following notes are some material obtained through interrogation.

Ku is called [ɬᵊiɳ] in the Miao language, and a ku woman is called [mpᵊaɪ ɬᵊiɳ]. Most of the ku women are loved by their husbands, /200/ which is called /tᵊioʌ ɬᵊiɳ/, meaning seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to [428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

/206 cont./

M 174 *535 C [175] [535] at Nan-Yang. They very much resemble the drum dance of the Hung Miao today. This strengthens the belief that the drum dance was brought into the Miao area during the Han dynasty. Further, according to the legend still prevalent today in the Miao area, in ancient times the Miao lived in Honan. The ancient Chinese records refer to the Mao Jung at Yin-ti in Honan province. From the geographical standpoint the theory also seems close to facts.

M *535 The drum dance of the Miao may be divided into two kinds: the solo dance and the duet dance. The solo dance is done by one person beating the drum and dancing and one person tapping the waist of the drum (Illus. 84-116). The duet dance is done by two persons beating the drum and dancing and one person tapping (Illus. 81, 82, and 83). There is no restriction as to sex, any combination being permitted.

M [562] [534] The size of the drum was probably set in former times, but now there are no uniform requirements. The drum is hoisted on a wooden frame and the stick /pang/ used for tapping is about a ch'ih long, and the drumstick is about half a ch'ih.

There are two kinds of dances: the drumstick dance and the fist dance, the difference being that in the former the drum is struck with the drumstick and in the latter with the fist. The M [562] fist dances, except for the ta-pa-pa dance (see later), are men's dances and are not practiced by women. As for the drumstick dances, although they are for both men and women, there is a certain number exclusively for men. When we observed the Miao dances we felt at first that the movements were rather complicated, but after detailed analysis they are rather simple. Since within the short space of five minutes they can dance over 20 different steps in very rapid motion, each being interchangeable with the other, on-lookers cannot help but feel that the steps are extremely intricate. Following are accounts of the drumstick dance and the fist dance.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

brother and his family alone in the Hsia-sai house. Fourteen households consisted of a man, his wife, and children; four of a widow or widower with children; one of an old man and his wife; one of a woman whose husband was away, and her small son. One elderly widow lived alone for a time and one single man lived with his brother's family. 596

Sons were more desired than daughters, but parents were genuinely fond of their girls and appreciated the fact that they were of considerable help while still at home. After they were married they lived at home until pregnant, and after they lived permanently in the husband's home, they still came to visit at the festival of the fifteenth of the first lunar month and other special times. During the slack season women were often invited to villages in which they had relatives to "drink wine." This was sometimes in the village from which they had come, and the opportunity to visit with old friends and relatives was very welcome. 562

The one Chinese family in the village was comparatively poor, as most Chinese who lived among the Miao were, in spite of the fact that they said they were the original owners of the site. Their children played with the Miao children and there were other social contacts, but on the whole they kept their own customs and were never more than onlookers at such times as weddings, funerals, and special feasts. Once the woman asked a Miao woman visitor to tell her fortune with a bowl of rice. 563

An examination of the grave sites belonging to the village indicated that there had been at least five generations, including the youngest one then living, in this place. The family in which I lived had come from Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien during the lifetime of the oldest member. One of the graves on the same mound as that where the old lady from House 1 was buried was that of the mother of a man buried in another place to the south of the bullfight meadow. Two others side by side were those of his grandfather and grandmother. 764

During the time I spent in Yang-chia-sai I made two visits to Yang-niu-ts'un. This was half a day's journey over the mountains to the southeast and in a valley containing five 361

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

piece of gray cloth with the Chinese character meaning "to inform" on it. The father accompanied this procession. When they got to their destination a feast was held, at which the pig was made into the chief dishes. 852

Naming of Children. Miss Li said that boys were named after animals and girls "Mei" (daughter, or younger sister) with a number or other designation to indicate their position in the family. I did hear one boy given the Miao word for Rooster as a name; but most of the boys had Chinese names of good meaning. In one family all the five boys except the youngest had names in which one of the two characters was the same for all. When the oldest boy went to middle school in Lung-li he took a "school name." The names I heard for girls were "Mei" with some word of pleasant meaning, such as "Happiness," "Treasure," "Purity." 853

In the case of boys a "generation name," chosen before the child was born, was also given. He was not called by this name, however, until he had his own wife and family. It was kept in the family records and in those of the *lien pao*. In the village of Yang-chia-sai the oldest generation had the generation name "Heng," with an individual one, the next generation "Cheng," and the third "Tan." But several men of the second oldest generation were still called by their "baby names," and none of the third generation by anything but the familiar names or nicknames. Girls kept their childhood name until they entered their husband's homes permanently, after which they were known as XXX (husband's surname) XX (maiden name) Family; that is, XXX of the XX Family. After her husband died she was known as Widow XX (maiden name) and, if, as almost always happened, in the same village there were several widows with the same maiden name, she was known as Widow XX whose eldest son was named Y. For instance, if a man in Yang-chia-sai, whose surname, of course, was Yang, married a woman from the Wu family, she would be known after she entered his family 855 562

511 permanently as Yang Wu Shih. If his wife
562 were from the Lo family, she would be known as Yang Lo Shih. In the first case, after his death she became Widow Wu, and in the second Widow Lo. In Yang-chia-sai there were three widows known as Widow Wang, distinguished as the mothers of Yung-ch'ing, T'ieh-k'uei, and Cheng-hsiang. Only the last of these sons had a wife and family and had assumed the generation name.

Boys were more desired than girls because inheritance is in the male line and sons carry on the worship of ancestors, as among the Chinese, but girls were also loved and desired. They had a greater economic value than among the Chinese because of the work they did even after they were married. They also kept closer contact with their parents after marriage than Chinese girls can do. This was indicated by the fact that they took their maiden name, even though they remained in the home of the deceased husband.

854 **Attitude Toward Children: Their Edu-**
292 **cation.** While the child was very tiny the mother carried it spreadeagled on her back. The pad used was stiffened and large enough to extend up beyond a very small child's head. Below the stiffened pad a long apron hung down, which was trimmed with bands of white on the dark blue. A piece of figured cloth hung down from the top, which could be thrown over the child's head to shield it from sun or cold. Under and over the baby's posterior were placed pads of palm fiber. Long two and a half inch wide bands of hemp cloth were fastened to the two upper corners of the stiffened piece, extended over the mother's shoulders, were crossed on the breast, went back under the child to hold it, and then were tied in front at the mother's waist. All the material but the hemp band was bought in market and there was no cross-stitch design on the loose piece as on that of the local Chung-chia and Chinese.

855 If there was no elderly woman or older child with whom the children could be left, the mother continued to carry the baby and also took a toddler along to the fields. But it was the task of elderly women and older children, boys and girls, to take care of the younger ones. If it was the youngest child, it often continued to nurse even when it was

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the by-standers stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*.

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example.

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[292] [177] The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. 291 562 But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

[151 cont.]

157 609 the stranger who comes to visit him and who is completely safe under his roof.

The "Méo" women are gay, mirthful, only slightly shy, especially when their confidence has been gained. (One may see in photo 128, Plate 43, a European woman in the midst of a group of "Méotes," who are showing a sometimes indiscreet curiosity regarding all that has to do with the details of costume and of coiffure of strangers from the Occident.)

562 The condition of the "Méo" women is rather hard. They share in the most difficult labor.

836 The young women are not distinguished by an excess of virtue, but this fact is considered of little importance by the "Méo."

526 The young boys and the young men greatly honor exercises of skill and strength and often compete with one another in carrying heavy burdens or in racing over the mountains.

[152] The various dialects used by the "Méo" are monosyllabic. 193 As among the "Man-ta-pan" the qualifying word is placed before the noun, the subject before the verb, the direct object after the indirect.

197 It is likely that in their country of origin each "Méo" tribe used a special dialect. Among the tribes settled in Tonkin, who are very much mixed together, the dialects, which are not fixed by any writing, seem to blend together by regions and to be used in each of these regions by all the "Méo" tribes who dwell there.

[198] 212 [871] [648] Almost all the "Méo" use the "kouan-hoa" as the language of commerce. Literate persons are very rare. Those who know a few characters pronounce them in the Chinese fashion. The "Méo" are beginning to send their children to the schools that are being conducted in our frontier posts located at the high altitudes. For their dealings with the authorities and for writing their rare letters, they have recourse to the help of a literate Chinese.

538 [533] The "Méo" have no written literature, but they know narratives, prayers, and some songs, which they sing in a monotonous, sad tone. They show little imagination, much simplicity and sometimes even triviality, for they particularly extol the material joys of life, of the table, and of love, the sole pleasures of a race whose

131 /131/ As we have seen, the characteristic Miao AES of the Meo is their living at high altitudes and their difficulty in acclimating in the lower valleys. In fact they seek to compensate for a lower altitude by a higher altitude. They require a severe climate, which they enjoyed on the high plateau of Yunnan and Szechwan and which they were forced to evacuate. They live especially on limestone peaks, and when some families live at the bottoms of cirques, the altitude of these goes up at least to a thousand meters. They prefer steep slopes where their little house appears to be suspended like a cage on the side of a wall.

Section 2

Physical and Moral Natures

142 147 143 The Meo is short and thick-set, his average height must be about 1.58 meters. He is right to be proud of the name Meo which was given to him by the Annamese as a contemptuous title. As a matter of fact, he climbs like a cat. Along trails where we must use hands and knees, he may be seen going ahead slowly but with supple ease, even though he often is carrying a loaded pack-basket on his back. His resistance to fatigue is very great while he remains above 800 meters altitude, below this he thinks he is in danger of being taken ill in the hot season.

142 157 [461] The Meo has a nearly white complexion, hard and prominent features, brown eyes and hair like all the inhabitants of Indochina, aside from a few unusual specimens with reddish hair and blue eyes. He is as hard-working as the Thai is indolent. More courageous than most of the natives, he would be as dangerous to have as an enemy as he has been useful to us as an ally on certain occasions, such as the conquest of Dongquan in 1893. The Meo woman is not pretty. ●562 142 She is a crude country-woman and a hard worker whose sturdiness is incompatible with all grace and style. However, the young women attract one's eye by the freshness of their pink and white faces, the air of health and vigor which they give forth, and their well-developed figures, which are emphasized by their very picturesque costumes. /132/ The high pitch and the weakness of their voice makes it resemble a small girl's. In short, youth and freshness endow the crude woman of the mountain with the same allure as all women. Unfortunately, like her neighbors of the valleys, she is subjected to hard toil in the fields at an early age. Moreover, she marries young and the cares of maternity added to those of house-keeping cause her to lose her shape and to take away her fresh appearance very quickly.

000 from their necklaces. They like dancing, songs and music. Their
533 instruments are the flageolet and flute with organ pipes or sen. The
534 latter is composed of a stout tube ending in a metal mouthpiece, in
535 the middle of which are inserted six organ pipes of varying length, pierced with holes at their base. To play this instrument one blows into the mouthpiece while holding the large tube in both hands at arm's length, at the same time closing certain of the holes on the organ pipes with the fingers. Thus nasal sounds resembling those of a bad accordion are obtained. This music is always accompanied by a somewhat grotesque dance in which the musician himself engages. Holding the instrument at arm's length in a very inconvenient way, he leans his body forward from the hips and, skimming over the ground with his feet, he starts hopping from one foot to the other, while turning about to the right or to the left. This heavy and graceless exercise reminds one of the dance of a bear at a fair. The Meo also play a small jew's-harp which is made up of a thin strip of brass
[562] which vibrates against the teeth. Women neither dance nor play musical instruments, but love to sing in shrill voices like a small girl, while working in the fields.

273 We shall see farther on that all the ceremonies are accompanie by feasts lasting several days. In addition in the high region the Meo /142/ have the reputation of being the mountaineers most inclined to drunkenness. Happily for the future of their race, the altitude at which they live and the arduous work to which they devote themselves are elements which combat the dangers of alcoholism.

844 Customs relative to childbirth are not remarkable. No sign
851 marks the house of a woman in confinement. A woman in labor seats
848 herself on a tabouret to give birth to her infant, assisted by her mother or midwife. If the new-born child is a boy, the placenta is buried in front of the main doorway, and if it is a girl, under the kitchen hearth As among the Tho, bastards are given a very poor reception. If an attempt to bring about an abortion has not been successful, the mother is forced to leave her infant to die of hunger.

584 Marriage preliminaries are shorter and less complicated than among the Tho. When a young man desires to wed a young woman, he tells his father about it, and he sends two of his men friends, selected from among older and respectable persons, carrying sticks of incense, in order to make the proposal. The sweet-smelling sticks are stuck into the soil and lighted in front of the doorway of the young woman's parents. If the master of the house offers a drink of alcohol

/91 cont./

595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in particular sleep as soundly as my informants maintained. However, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
[562] whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy
[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants laconically answered my question as to what they would do if they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair: "We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far
[582] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situation, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2),

1. II, p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little importance to this fact.

/92 cont./

836 With regard to the boys, however, the parents are
[562] positively proud of the successes of their sons in this respect. The chief, Tsin Tsai, for instance, told me that his second youngest son was especially clever with the girls. He had surely inherited this from him, because in his youth he had been called a "tiger among the girls"!

848 It is strange that illegitimate children are relatively
[842] rare, although I was repeatedly told that no contraceptive devices are used. If a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, however, the families concemed immediately change their attitude, /93/ and the parents of the lovers forcefully insist on the marriage of the young people. The girl is ready for this under all circumstances, but it sometimes happens that a young
[626] man wants to evade his obligation. In this case both families put such pressure upon him that he practically always gives in.
[684] If not, he is obliged to pay any indemnity that the girl's parents demand. If he is not in a position to do this, he has to marry for otherwise he would be severely punished by the chief of the village.

627 If a young man should deny paternity, the testimony of
848 the girl, or the young mother, is valid in doubtful cases. She summons her parents and those of the young man and leads them to the place where she had her meetings with the young man. She describes details which almost always force the young man to withdraw his denials. Moreover, in the generally small communities, it is probably always known "with whom a girl is going, "as my informants said. On the other hand, if the
[851] seducer pays the price asked by the girl's parents, the matter is regarded as settled, and the illegitimate child remains with the family of the mother and belongs to this family.

114 In contrast to my observations, separate authors report
847 that the Meau try to get rid of illegitimate children through
848 abortion or at the latest after the birth. Lajonquière (1),

1. II, p. 317,

for instance, writes: "If a child is conceived out of wedlock,

/119 cont./

764 [775] This peculiar custom is also mentioned by Maspero (1),

1. Page 244.

who asserts that, instead of a dog, an ox is sometimes used.

Lajonquière's description continues: "On the third day, corpse and coffin are carried to the grave separately; moreover, a coffin is not always used. [789] In order to drive away evil spirits, small cannons are fired, or, if they are not available, guns, around the funeral procession. The latter consists of the sorcerer, the children of the deceased, and several friends. In [767] some regions the gravediggers march in step in a special way, which represents a kind of dance. As soon as the grave has been closed, a mound is heaped over it, which in Pakha, for example, is covered with flat stones. The bier on which the deceased was carried is smashed to pieces on it, a little food is left in the vicinity, and everybody returns home and ends the day eating and drinking...

765 775 "For one or two days, sometimes even longer, a member of the family returns to the grave in order to bring food to the deceased; then he is forgotten."

764 [114] [522] This description is borrowed almost verbatim by Abadie (2),

2. Page 168.

who, however, adds that women do not take part in burials.

765 Lajonquière (3) stresses that actually there is no mourning

3. II, p. 319.

[302] among the Meau. During the three days of the funeral rites, the children of the deceased wear their hair loose and hanging down over their shoulders, but nothing is changed in their dress.

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[237] snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
171 Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instrument, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest form (Ill. 75)* among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral instrument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.

171 533 534 [778] [562]

534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

* [see cat. 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/145 cont./

534 For the manufacturing process, the length of the pipes, which, along with the diameter, determines the pitch, is always chosen so that their tone is somewhat lower than the one actually aimed for; finally the instrument is tuned by appropriately shortening the tubes. Each pipe is provided with a /Figs. 24-27 appear here/ blow hole that leads into the body of the mouth organ, and with a keyhole that is stopped with a finger. The tone is produced by stopping the keyhole and blowing into the pipe. In addition the vibration parts for the mouth organ are so constructed that the same tone is produced by blowing air in or by sucking it out. Not until the end of the process is the silver mouthpiece put on. The construction of this instrument makes it possible to breathe while playing. Thus, during the sacral dances one can play uninterruptedly. This is very important since the players always dance and play at the same [535] time. The actual use of the instrument is best shown by the drawings and photographs. While the intervals between the individual pipe tones are fixed, the absolute pitch of the basic flute is left to the taste of the manufacturer; it also depends on the size of the instrument. Thus the mouth organs differ considerably from one another in basic pitch, but agree melodically. The use of the pitch pipe is not customary.

[533] /146/ Another instrument of the Meau, which is especially popular among lovers and is played by both sexes, is the jew's-harp (Fig. 27). It consists of a sheet of brass or bronze with a vibrating tongue in the middle. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the right thumb; the oral cavity acts as the sounding board (Ill. 77). 1/1

Furthermore, there are two kinds of flute. The simple rod flute (Ill. 76) 1/1 consists of a wooden or bamboo body and has six finger holes on the upper side and one on the under side tuned in major. /Figs. 28-29 appear here./ The hole on the under side is sometimes stopped. The simple construction of the flute is shown in the drawings (Fig. 24 and Fig. 25). Both sexes play this flute as well as the one described below. [114] Lajonquière (1), too, mentions flutes and mouth organs. He
[562]
[533]

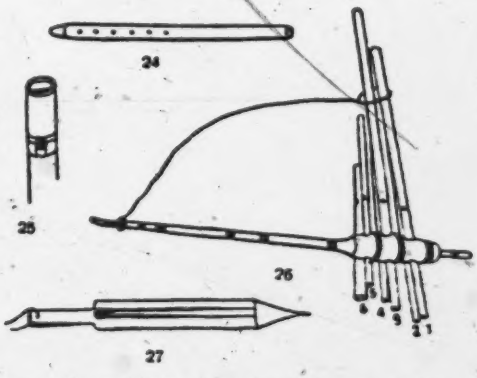
1. II, p. 311.

1/1 [see cat 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/146 cont./

534 maintains, however, that their use is restricted to men. His
[114] statement is very true concerning the mouth organ, but he errs
562 with regard to the flute, since I myself repeatedly saw Meau
[533] women and girls playing it.

The vibration flutes (Figs. 28 and 29) of various sizes, which are played either as a rod flute or transverse flute, are used more commonly than the simple rod-flute. In addition to the blow hole, each flute has five finger holes burned into the upper side, in addition to one at the side that is stopped during the blowing. Accordingly, different tones are produced. As in the case of the mouth organs, the absolute pitch of the basic tone varies with the size of the instrument.



Figs. 24-27. Musical instruments of the Meau. Fig. 24, simple rod flute, 1/10 nat. size; Fig. 25, end-piece of the rod flute, with blow hole; Fig. 26, mouth organ. The wooden body is made of two symmetrical halves joined together and wound with bamboo strips. The six pipes are of bamboo, the mouthpiece of silver. About 1/11 nat. size. Fig. 27. Jew's-harp of brass or bronze, 1/3 nat. size.

[533] The six tones of the instrument, however, are accurately tuned in a simple minor scale. The construction of these flutes, like that of the mouth organs, is rather difficult, and there are only a few Meau who have mastered it. For example, in the area of the Meau villages
[463] on the upper course of the Nam Fa, there was only one man who was skilled in this art and his flutes were used over a wide area.
533 Jew's-harps and flutes are popularly played by the guards in the
[243] rice fields, who while away the time with them. Otherwise their sound is most commonly heard in the evening beside the hearth fire for the edification of the people.

/176 cont./

756 [787] and this knowledge are not acquired through learning; the office of the shaman is not even necessarily handed down from father to son, though this is possible, but primarily the shaman is a person who has been chosen by the spirits. Usually each village has several shamans, who, it is assumed, are not equally powerful. [554] Their rating depends on the successes accomplished by the individual shamans. A person may turn to one in less important cases and to another in more important cases or if the first shaman has failed.

[562] [554] Similarly, the position of the shaman does not depend on the sex, although female shamans are much rarer than male ones. Both male and female shamans, when they are not engaged in their special activities, live /Color Pl. II appears here on an unnumbered page/ /177/ exactly like the other members of the tribe, from whom, if they are men, they are in no way distinguished, except for a small distinguishing mark (Fig. 40). The [302] female shamans are recognizable only by their hair-style; they do not wear the long hair of the women, but have the head either close-cropped or wear the male hair-style, depending on the instructions given to them by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

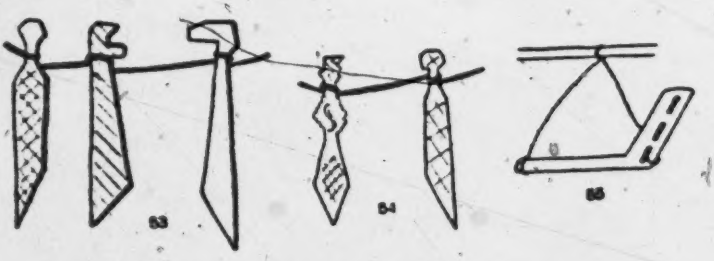
The latter also determines the color of the distinguishing [292] mark of the shamans, a small fabric cross that is sewed on the back of the blouse and is worn only while a ceremony is being performed. /Fig. 40 appears here./ Sometimes small silver coins, usually of Chinese origin, are sewed in two or four ends of the fabric cross. This, too, would have been ordered by the teacher-spirit of the shamans.

428 756 787 [782] [776] [801] If a shaman is about to die and wants to designate one of his sons as his successor, this is done in ceremonial fashion. He sacrifices four candles and four small bowls of tea to the teacher-spirit of all the shamans, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsŭ, and the three pairs of assistant spirits, tă fŭ yé, lŭ fŭ yé, and săn fŭ yé. The teacher-spirit and each pair of assistants are entitled to one candle and one bowl; moreover, four is the lucky number of the Meau. Now the gongs are beaten and the magic rattle is sounded until the shaman believes that the spirits are present. He now asks them to lend their assistance to his son, whose name he mentions, just as they have to him during his years of activity, for he himself is now too old to continue to perform his duties.

/212/

535 [788] [783] [562] The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward [177] dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

778 411



Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 571 [881] [782] Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as, say, a joining together of the young people at the time of initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said, no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

532 778 [779] The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau; no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

/245 cont./

428 head who succeeds the deceased takes them into his house
596 upon the now ensuing dismemberment of the large family. Moreover, all the possessions of the large family are now distributed among the occupants of the house up to now; therefore the sons who are already independent and own their own houses receive nothing. Blood brothers of the deceased likewise cannot [608] inherit anything.

428 The distribution begins with the cash or silver. For cal-
803 culating the distribution, a grain of rice is first taken for each piece of silver. Then all the sons who lived with the deceased under one roof, from the oldest to the youngest, receive in turn two grains of rice. Then all the male grandchildren of the former head, again beginning with the oldest, receive one grain of rice apiece. After the youngest of them has received his grain of rice, /246/ the sequence begins all over again with each son getting two grains of rice and so forth, until all has been distributed. Only then are the pieces of silver substituted for the grains of rice (see also the chapter, "Counting and Reckoning").

Then the ornaments are taken up. Only the sons, however, and not the grandsons, share in them, as in the other possessions. Each of the sons, in the order of their ages, selects an ornament; if any remain, the sequence begins anew. The procedure is the same with the other possessions, the animals, the house and the kitchen utensils, and the like. The produce on hand is distributed in equal shares among the sons. Cultivated fields which have not yet been harvested are tilled jointly by the heirs until the harvest, and then the produce is distributed in accordance with the system just described. The same procedure is followed with the property of the widows of the deceased as soon as they die.

428 The female members of the family are excluded from
[562] any inheritance, although they retain what was already their
[422] personal property, such as the dowry made by them, the ornaments that they received from their lovers or from their father during his lifetime, and the like. Besides the sons of the deceased who are already independent and therefore no [597] longer qualified to inherit, also his brothers, cousins, and other

Miao AE5

/246 cont./

428 [597] blood relatives, as well as adopted brothers, receive no share in the inheritance as long as the direct heirs named are present.

[756] [622] [634] Aside from possible fees, if the shaman has been asked to officiate at the burial, he, as well as the village chief, formerly the great chief, receives none of the estate. The distribution of the estate takes place under the supervision of the principal heir, who also receives the clothing of his deceased father.

[562] [596] Even if there are no sons, but daughters are present, they are still excluded from the inheritance. In this case, the oldest brother of the deceased moves into his house as the chief heir and new head of the large family, takes over all the property of the deceased, and provides for the girls as though he were the only son. In practice this situation probably never [597] happens, for the head of a large family to whom daughters were born, but not sons would have adopted a boy in time. The latter would then marry one of the daughters and become the sole heir. /247/ Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in a similar vein:

428
562

1. Page 169.

"Girls receive nothing, unless the deceased is survived exclusively by unmarried daughters. If the deceased is survived only by married daughters, all of whom have left the paternal home, they inherit nothing at all, and the estate passes to the closest male relative. An exception is made if a woman and her husband [597] live under one roof with her parents (adoption). In this case the estate is divided between her and the son of the deceased. Her husband cannot inherit from his parents, since he has given up all ties of kinship with his natural parents."

428 [597] The situation is similar in case of childlessness. In such cases, too, the man would long before have adopted one or probably several boys, who would have the same rights as natural sons. If a Meau should die after he has lost all his sons, [596] [764] [589] which may happen in epidemics, the oldest brother of the deceased becomes the principal heir, who moves into the house of the deceased, takes care of the funeral, and with whom the widows remain as a rule. Nevertheless, in this, as in every other

M 687 /250 cont./ In former times treason may also have been punished by death, but none of my informants could remember a case.

M 696 /251/ Capital punishment is executed in three ways. Beating the criminal to death is regarded as the mildest form, and decapitation is regarded as more severe punishment. As the most severe form, the condemned person is first shot and then M [562] beheaded. Capital punishment is not only meted out to men, but also to women.

Dhuraratsadorn (1), as he writes, could not learn anything

1. Page 170.

about capital punishment. It was only reported to him that condemned persons "quietly disappeared." The author continues: M [626] "Nobody wants to have anything to do with the family of the executed person, and even children refuse to play with his children, because the Meau believe that they are persons of a bad breed."

A 673 [681] Among the Akha, too, there are fixed punishments for various offenses. Theft, robbery, arson, bodily injury, and adultery, as well as the violation of the incest prohibitions and false testimony by a witness, are regarded as crimes.

M [673] In contrast to the Meau, the Akha make no distinction between a deed that was premeditated and one caused by negligence. Even the latter is punished as though it had been done intentionally. Like the procedure among the Meau, the A 692 sentence is made in accordance with established customary law with which the older men are thoroughly familiar through experience. The verdict itself is decided by a majority vote of the assembly of house-owners and the decision is regarded as incontestable; it is announced by the village chief.

A 674 In the villages visited by me, I was told that murder and homicide, as well as kidnapping, had not occurred within human memory; I could therefore not ascertain the penalties for these crimes. It was always said that such serious crimes do not occur among the Akha.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/377 cont./

M 264 [262] [412] however, they take something along in order to eat at noon. The meals consist of some coarse maize dough in a bucket, some beans, and some vegetables. Spoons or chopsticks are used. Only on festive occasions is meat eaten. Some pork is always smoked and saved for important guests."

[574] [562] Meals are eaten together, except when strangers are present as guests (Ill. 106, 107);[1] even for the cold snack in the fields all sit down together.

A 262 No differently than the Meau, the Akha, too, in addition to their domestic animals and cultivated plants, use a great number of wild plants and all kinds of animals for food. Of the birds /378/ they disdain vultures and ravens, but not the hornbill. They also do not eat the numerous lizards ignored also by the Meau, as well as the larvae of flies, but on the other hand they do consume dogs, which are not eaten by the Meau.

A 252 [462] The preparation of meals among the Akha is likewise clean, but it differs in several ways from Meau cooking, while being related to it in the principal features. Among the Akha, too, it is usually the women who prepare the food, but the men very frequently help.

As a rule, the Akha cut meat into small pieces and cook it in water; they also chop it up, season it with spices, and then consume it raw. Curdled blood or the entrails of animals are prepared and eaten in the same way. Cooking pits and heated stones are also unknown to the Akha. Besides lard and the suet of the hunting booty, and in addition to the fats, the seeds of a sesame-like, oily plant must be mentioned. They A [782] are used in connection with offerings and simply by adding these seeds to the rice before it is cooked (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo").

A 251 [262] The basic foodstuff among the Akha is likewise rice, which is eaten at every meal. First of all it is freed from the husks and cleaned, and then it is ready to be cooked. Among the Akha its preparation is different then among the Meau. They soak it in water overnight and then cook it in the same

[1] [see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/383 cont./

M 276 [556] The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however, is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that M [562] [114] the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and

1. II, p. 303.

Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be

2. Page 160.

considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the Tho.

M [763] [757] In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death easier for the patient under its influence.

A 249 [276] The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/393 cont./

A 411 [283] [824] [415] cord is usually wound with a strip of bast in the center, because the most wear and tear is there. The arrows (Fig. 325), often poisoned at the tip, are made of bamboo throughout (Ill. 35)[1] and feathered with the same material. They are kept and carried around in quivers (Ill. 30[2] and Fig. 326) of wood or likewise bamboo.

The accuracy of the crossbow marksmen is considerable. I saw a little squirrel fall at the first shot at a distance of 20 A [224] meters. The penetrating power of the crossbow of the Akha is also very great. Stags and does are regularly killed even without poisoned arrows, and the Akha are able to slay even tigers with their crossbow, but they prefer to avoid these large cats. /Figs. 321-326 appear here./

/394/

Chapter 20

Military Affairs and War

M 181 721 The Meau are a warlike people who, at the risk of their lives and property, resist any subjugation and courageously face the enemy in defiance of death. Savina (1) describes them:

1. II, p. 232.

"Mild and timid in peace, they are wild and cruel in war."

M 648 In fact, it was only their infinitely superior greater strength of numbers that enabled the Chinese to subjugate the M 701 Meau. Every Meau who is able to carry a weapon is subject to military service, as well as boys as soon as they are able [702] to handle the men's crossbow. Children and women, on the other hand, are excluded from active military service, though [562] history has recorded instances of outstanding personal contributions in war by Meau women. Savina (1) /see footnote 1 above/ also mentions them: "Many a woman has become famous in war..."

[1] [see cat 116, p270 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p249 - "]

/466 cont./

576 The maintenance of good manners is observed in a way [514] that we found very pleasant. It is regarded as indecent to perform one's private functions before others, to break wind, or to [264] belch during meals, and as impossible to spit during meals. [832] Furthermore, it is regarded as improper to exchange caresses in public or to be seen doing so, or to converse about sexual matters. [521] Thus, it is not permissible for a young man to divulge the name [602] of the girl whose love he has enjoyed, or to conduct erotic [562] conversations before relatives. Moreover, it is not proper for [609] women to appear before strangers. They are not to be seen at [125] all in the presence of visitors, and it took a long time before the women and girls of the Meau abandoned their reserve toward us.

574 Visitors, on the other hand, violate good manners if 576 they enter a house immediately. They must first announce their presence outside and await an invitation by a male occupant. Only if no men, but only women are present may the visitor enter immediately. On the other hand, in contrast to so many peoples, it is quite in keeping with good form if a guest inquires about the wife and children of the host. As has already been pointed out (see the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," the section, [562] "Food"), the family members eat together as a rule, but in no case the women before the men, since that is regarded as improper. The young girls also wait at the table for what is left over for them.

At common meals for both sexes, nothing is changed [264] when a single good friend of the family eats with them. Only then the guest, along with the family, has to observe a series [273] of rules likewise mentioned previously: For example, a man may not drink to the health of a strange woman or of a female against whom there are incest prohibitions, just as it is likewise [832] generally prohibited for girls to pour alcohol for a young man, if they do not wish to express an unmistakable invitation by it. This also applies to married women who therefore may pour brandy only for their husbands. In this connection, the taboo regulations /467/ must, of course, also be observed (see the chapter, "Life in the Community," the sections, "Marriage Obstacles and Regulations" and "Old Age and Death").

/VII cont./

534 Ills. 75-77. Musical instruments.

Ill. 75. The mouth organ of the Meau, which differs in size and construction from the instruments of the other mountain peoples of Farther India (cf. Ill. 25). The instrument is carefully carved out of wood and mounted with silver rings. The inserted flutes are made of bamboo. As among the Akha, the instrument is played exclusively by men and usually simultaneously with dancing. The mouth organ is of greatest significance for the Meau as a sacral musical instrument.

[562] [535]

Ill. 76. Simple rod-flute of the Meau, made of bamboo, with one blow hole and six finger holes on the upper side and one finger hole on the under side. The latter is kept shut during the playing.

Ill. 77. Jew's-harp. The instrument consists of a brass or bronze plate, the center of which is cut out to form a tongue. The jew's-harp is placed against the teeth and made to vibrate with the thumb of the right hand; the oral cavity forms the sounding board. A change in the size of the oral cavity produces a change of pitch.

Ills. 78-80 and 91-96. Means of subsistence.

411 Ill. 78. Flintlock gun, the chief weapon in war and for hunting, which the Meau make themselves, as well as the black gunpowder. The gun does not have a butt like the European gun, but merely a pistol stock. Lead or iron bullets are used. Although accuracy and penetrating power are slight, measured by European weapons, the Meau kill even big game with their guns.

Ill. 79. Crossbow. Next to the flintlock guns, the crossbow is the most important weapon of the Meau. Nevertheless, it is of less importance than among the Akha, who have almost no guns, and is usually used only for hunting birds and small game. With poisoned arrows, however, even large game and pachyderms are killed.

[223] [224]

223 Ill. 80. As passionate hunters, the Meau are masters at setting traps. The illustration shows a hunter who is setting a snare to catch wild birds. As soon as the bird touches the trigger stick, the noose jerks upward and the booty is caught in it.